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# The Relationship Between Cultural Heritage Tourism and Historic Crafting & Textile Communities

## **Abstract**

The tourism industry continues to grow exponentially each year as many First and developing nations utilize its many subsets to generate commerce. Of the many types of tourism, arguably all countries employ heritage tourism as a method to protect their varying forms of cultural heritage , to establish national identities and grow their economies. As it is understood, to create a national identity a group of people will first identify what they consider to be the culturally significant features of their society that embodies their heritage. Heritage is a legacy that will be passed onto future generations that encompasses customs, expressions artifacts structures etc.

This thesis will focus on the production of crafts and textiles as material culture for heritage tourism markets as a segment of cultural heritage. It will examine how the production of material culture is affected when it intersects with large scale heritage tourism.

## **Keywords**

textiles, crafting, cultural heritage, material culture, heritage tourism

## **Disciplines**

Historic Preservation and Conservation

## **Comments**

Suggested Citation:

Hayes, Nyasha Brittany (2012). *The Relationship Between Cultural Heritage Tourism and Historic Crafting & Textile Communities*. (Masters Thesis). University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM AND  
HISTORIC CRAFTING & TEXTILE COMMUNITIES

Nyasha Brittany Hayes

A THESIS

In

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2012

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Randall F. Mason  
Associate Professor

For my parents.

Thank you for the continual love and support. Your encouragement throughout my entire experience in graduate school has been crucial to my success. You both always knew what I needed to hear when I needed it. For that I am grateful.

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## INTRODUCTION

The tourism industry continues to grow exponentially each year as many First and developing nations utilize its many subsets to generate commerce. Of the many types of tourism, arguably all countries employ heritage tourism as a method to protect their varying forms of cultural heritage, to establish national identities and grow their economies. As it is understood, to create a national identity a group of people will first identify what they consider to be the culturally significant features of their society that embodies their heritage. Heritage is a legacy that will be passed onto future generations that encompasses customs, expressions artifacts structures etc.

This thesis will focus on the production of crafts and textiles as material culture for heritage tourism markets as a segment of cultural heritage. It will examine how the production of material culture is affected when it intersects with large scale heritage tourism. Heritage tourism markets specifically to tourists who are curious about other cultures. A significant proportion of heritage tourists are from countries with first nation status and their monies – when spent on material culture – has an immediate direct affect on local economies. Specifically there is a preference with some tourists to purchase material culture created by local artisans. Their products are the manifestation of their inherited cultural artistry. This penchant for local material culture is tied to the idea of an authentic experience that many tourists seek when exploring a different culture. The popularity of authentic material culture has contributed to the engagement of local populations as they enable sustainable tourism, especially in historic locations.



To understand how heritage tourism affects the production of material culture there will be an analysis of cultural heritage and heritage tourism respectively. Cultural heritage will be explored: its origins, purpose and the current breadth of classifications to understand the significance of material culture. Heritage tourism will be investigated to understand its full effect on material culture and how it can be properly utilized to maximize the benefits of historic communities that produce material culture. Examples of historic communities from around the world that have employed heritage tourism to revitalize the creation of material culture will be presented to understand the varying ways heritage and tourism are balanced by local artisan communities to create a sustainable environment.

I chose to focus this thesis specifically on craft and textile production after recognizing how the inherited skills to produce material culture is in a perpetual state of risk of being lost. This risk is amplified, especially when it is compromised by the affects of cultural heritage tourism. I spent my childhood watching my family and members of my local community craft, weave, whittle and produce earthenware. I value the lessons that I've been taught because they're a part of my heritage. This has led to my interest in crafting and textile production from cultures all around the world. However, I've been painfully aware of how easy it is for a traditional skill to be lost when the knowledge isn't passed onto the next generation. Having had the opportunity to travel to historic cities, and it is blatantly obvious how invasive heritage tourism can be to local artisans and craftsmen. In particular a common threat to material culture production that arises because of heritage tourism is the practice of local vendors selling goods that were mass

produced in East and South East Asia to imitate material culture made by fewer and fewer local artisans.

To execute the analysis on the relationship between material culture production of historic crafting and textile communities with heritage tourism three case studies were chosen. The requirements for each case study were: 1. A historic location be it a city or entire country that predates the sixteenth century. 2. Its citizens have been historically producing material. 3. The artisans and craftsmen have to be producing the same material culture today. (It was important to choose locations that predate the sixteenth century to include a varying selection of locations with a strong pre colonial heritage.) The best three varying examples of material culture from historic locations from around the world were the weavings of the Navajo People from the American Southwest; the Flemish Lace from Western Europe; lastly Turkish Embroidery from Eastern Europe. Having chosen three extremely different societies it was import to assess how the heritage tourism industry affected them differently and their material culture production.

Chapter One investigates the complexities of cultural heritage and heritage tourism. It begins with exploring the complex subject of heritage and works through its subcategories to properly locate where material culture lies within its larger scope. It differentiates between heritage and the contemporary classification of cultural heritage, and examines the development of cultural heritage to make provisions to include the production of material culture. The latter half of the chapter focuses on heritage tourism. As the tourism industry exists as one of the largest sectors in the world, this portion of the chapter analyzes how the industry can be used to the advantage of artisans and craftsmen. They can utilize employment opportunities to promote economic growth through the sale

of their material culture. In addition to finding methods to promote material culture, the chapter also analyzes policies and organizations established to protect material culture in the wake of the growing heritage tourism industry.

Chapter Two delves into the cultural production of the Navajo People of the American Southwest, focusing on their practice of weaving to provide textiles. It first gives a brief history of the Navajo and how they came to reside in the Southwest. It then explains the importance of Navajo cosmology to their weaving history and textile production. The chapter then provides information on how the development of the railroad in the Southwest opened the door to heritage tourism in the region which had an immediate effect on the production of the Navajo's material culture. Many of the functional products that were produced came to be seen as collectible items by American's interested in Navajo culture. This has spurred the art and antiquities market that places value on historic Navajo pieces and devalues contemporary ones. There is also the development in the black market that panders imitations of historic Navajo textiles. All of these unfortunate events has led to local Navajo artists banding together to create organizations to protect their heritage and to promote the works of contemporary artists.

Chapter three features the historic lace producing city of Bruges in Northwestern Belgium. It begins with a brief history on the production of lace, followed by a history of Bruges' development as great international port city for Northern Europe. The city's influence on lace production and in spreading the popularity of Flemish lace (bobbin lace) is important to the history of lace design. However with the onset of the industrial revolution, the city's lace production was leveled in addition to other important

industries. However thanks to Heritage Tourism, interest in lace production was revived. The interest and demand from tourists preserved the art form. However, despite the interest that the tourism industry has sparked, lack of legislation has caused imitation lace to become more prominent, outselling the creations of local artisan and craftsmen.

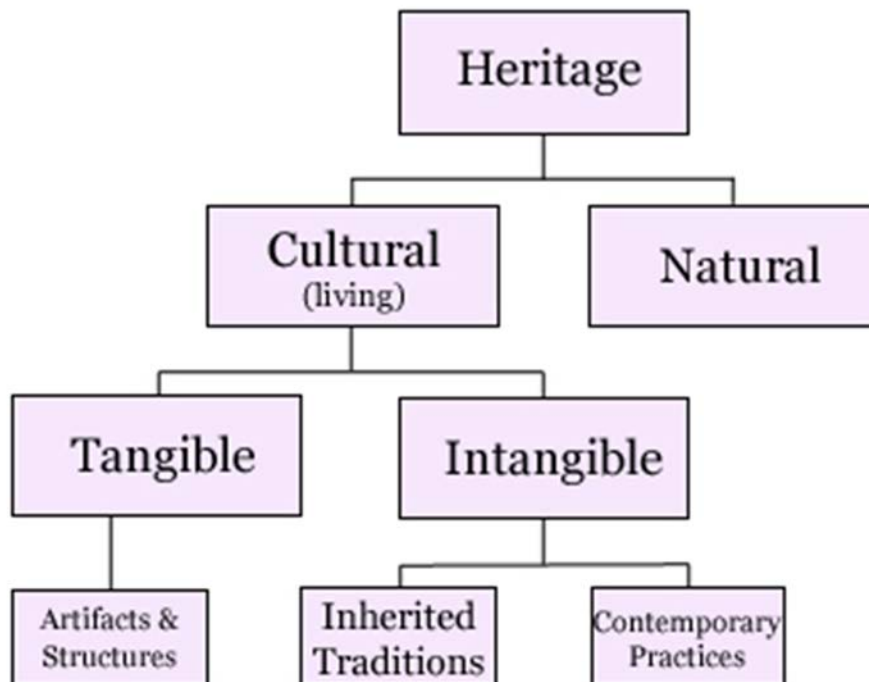
Chapter four profiles the famous embroidery making society of Turkey. The chapter provides a history of Turkish embroidery: explaining the significance of embroidery to Turkish culture and the reason behind its constant production. The chapter also analyzes how embroidery designs changed with the onset of European influences on Turkish society. Embroidery is seen as a cultural practice that everyone in Turkish society benefits from, and was practiced by all levels of society. The chapter then analyzes how Turkey developed their industry to provide decorated textiles both domestically and internationally. The country benefits from the achievements of the industry, and its cultural ties protect the trade of embroidery as a heritage rite. This protects the craft and the industry from the disadvantages that may occur with pronounced heritage tourism.

Chapter five provides conclusions on all three case studies. It provides suggestions on the types of regulations each case could utilize to protect the continued development of material culture, and the heritage of those societies.

## CHAPTER 1: CULTURAL HERITAGE & HERITAGE TOURISM

### Analysis of Cultural Heritage

The purpose of this passage is to gradually come to an understanding about the rationale behind material culture by end. However, to fully understand material culture it is necessary to examine the construct of heritage. Identify its classifications and their roles within society: only then is it possible to recognize what material culture is, how it functions within the larger scope of heritage and how it operates in concert with heritage tourism.



*Figure 1. Organizational Diagram of Heritage and its subcategories.*

### *Heritage as inheritance and stewardship*

Heritage can be explained as the process of inherited ownership. It is historically tied to the inception of laws that regulate the handling of physical assets.<sup>1</sup> This reveals the origins of the term *heirloom*. The word *loom* was often used to refer to tools, which were only inherited by an heir on the occasion of a death. It is further established by a family custom: a created tradition that's renewed with the inheritance of the *loom* (tools).<sup>2</sup> The tools stayed within a family trade and came to be associated with a family's identity because an heirloom's value was dependent on the amount of time it stayed within a family's possession.<sup>3</sup> Over time, the passing on of a set of tools became associated with "rites of passage" and provided validity to the identity of the younger generation.<sup>4</sup>

The idea of cultural heritage stems from the identity created through family customs. Pearce explains cultural heritage as the inheritance of ideological features from ancestors: the frame work for beliefs and customs that define and represent a group of people.<sup>5</sup> Heritage is the perceived identity that permeates all levels of a society; however it does more than inform the general public about the past. It is dually manipulated to represent the historic identity that groups would like to project forward as their heritage.

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<sup>1</sup> Pearce, Susan M. "The Making of Cultural Heritage" Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report. LA: The Getty Trust. 2000. Pp 59

<sup>2</sup> The 1911 Classic Encyclopedia: 11<sup>th</sup> Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica. 1911.  
<http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Heirloom> Accessed: Jan 26, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Helen Sheumaker, Shirley Teresa. Material Culture in America: Understanding Everyday Life. ABC-CLIO 2008 California. Pg 227

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. pg 227

<sup>5</sup> Pearce, Susan M. "The Making of Cultural Heritage" Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report. LA: The Getty Trust. 2000. Pp 59

As seen in the diagram in *Figure 1* a crafted identity will include both tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Every family, group of people or nation has forms of both. As an example, the United States has many monuments and buildings that are cultural markers of American history: Mount Vernon, Monticello, the White House etc. There are also the inherited traditions such as the celebration of Thanksgiving, and other contemporary practices such as pastimes like *tailgating* which are unique to the American experience.

With this understanding of heritage it becomes somewhat easier to comprehend cultural heritage as living heritage. The meaning of heritage has evolved to include provisions for the varying contemporary approaches that are taken to express what people identify as culturally significant as a part of living heritage. Originally, heritage was relegated specifically to epic ruins but currently includes “intangible, ethnographic or industrial heritage.”<sup>6</sup> However material culture is in part a result of intangible cultural heritage, which deserves further scrutiny.

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<sup>6</sup> UNESCO. “Cultural Heritage” Accessed: Dec. 30, 2011.  
[http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=2185&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=2185&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

### *Development of Intangible Cultural Heritage*

The expansion for designations within Intangible Cultural Heritage accommodates the demand for the recognition of the varying representations “in the dramatic arts, languages and traditional music, as well as to the informational, spiritual and philosophical systems upon which creations are based.”<sup>7</sup> The new clarification reflects the importance of cultural heritage as living heritage. Despite its importance living heritage is extremely fragile: existing expressions and traditions are always at risk of dying regardless of the breadth of technology available to researchers.<sup>8</sup> This has spurred researchers to understand in depth the variety and purposes of expressions and traditions and their importance to each culture around the world. Despite the fragility of living heritage, it allows for the appreciation of how contemporary society defines its own heritage within the present moment. One of the ways this is done is by selecting which traditions will be kept alive through the creation of material culture. As provided by UNESCO, living heritage allows for increased diversity of the interpretations of cultural heritage worthy of being protected and was further recognized with the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.<sup>9</sup>

### *Material Culture*

The production of material culture exists in a grey area within the larger scope of cultural heritage. It is the manifestation of the intangible: inherited tradition coupled with tangible resources. The continued creation of material culture is a testament of the human

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



desire to improve our living conditions with functional objects and artifacts that are assigned cultural value.<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that although the physical artifacts are valued, the value of the skill is not diminished. This is unique to material culture: the physical objects are valuable because they are a result of the process and act as a representation of that skill. The knowledge of the creation process required to create “authentic” material culture is always at risk of being lost. However, if material culture is continually produced via traditional skills, these skills can be passed on to the next generation as intangible heritage.

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<sup>10</sup> Moreno, Yasmin. Santagata, Walter. Tabassum, Arif. Material Cultural Heritage, Cultural Diversity, and Sustainable Development. ACEI, 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Cultural Economics. March 06, 2004. Pp4

## The Significance of Cultural Heritage Tourism

### *Material Culture and Heritage Tourism for Economic Growth*

The creation of products through crafting and handiwork as material culture as a method for economic growth can be extremely profitable to growing communities that experience an increase in heritage tourism. Heritage tourism has its roots seated in the beginning of Western Civilization; members of upper social strata could afford the luxury of travel for the sake of exploring and experiencing different cultural experiences. This early stage of cultural tourism later manifested in the Grand Tour, which can also be identified as the modern day gap year/study abroad opportunities available to many western students. All of this illustrates that heritage tourism does supply some stability, which is imperative for economic growth of historic communities that wish to capitalize on increased heritage tourism. This is most visible in the still developing nations that lack technological industry.<sup>11</sup>

It's imperative to be cognizant of the popularity and success of material culture throughout history in concert with the history of heritage tourism. Western nations dominated the market for the creation of products as material heritage in the early twentieth century. Specifically, international superpowers undermined the productive capacity of developing nations by imposing their own exports.<sup>12</sup> However with the continual expansion of heritage tourism, has allowed for the sector to grow in developing

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<sup>11</sup> Moreno, Yasmin. Santagata, Walter. Tabassum, Arif. Material Cultural Heritage, Cultural Diversity, and Sustainable Development. ACEI, 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Cultural Economics. March 06, 2004.

Pp10

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

nations contributing to the development of communities that utilize material culture to facilitate economic growth. It can be argued that because the products of material culture have social capital, that lends to its economic value making it a commodity that can be used to stimulate development.<sup>13</sup> Now that material culture has gained additional prominence,

“there is worldwide evidence that material cultural resources, namely culture-based goods show a main road to development, especially for micro and small enterprises and local communities, allowing them to develop according to their own characteristics, providing them with new economic activities and thus enabling them to become less vulnerable and less dependent on current more erosive development strategies.”<sup>14</sup>

### *The Development of Heritage Tourism Policy*

The Heritage tourism industry continually grows each year as more tourists flock to historically and culturally significant locations all around the world. Heritage tourism can be great for economic growth however it can be damaging to the same heritage that visitors clamor to experience. This is apparent by the displacement of local populations that can no longer afford to live in their former communities because heritage tourism has incited a higher cost of living. The influx of tourist dollars will bring with it inexpensive mass produced souvenirs from China - some of which mimics the locally crafted material

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<sup>13</sup> Moreno, Yasmin. Santagata, Walter. Tabassum, Arif. Material Cultural Heritage, Cultural Diversity, and Sustainable Development. ACEI, 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Cultural Economics. March 06, 2004. Pp8

<sup>14</sup> Moreno, Yasmin. Santagata, Walter. Tabassum, Arif. Material Cultural Heritage, Cultural Diversity, and Sustainable Development. ACEI, 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Cultural Economics. March 06, 2004. Pp4

culture. However the fragility of intangible heritage and material culture has spurred the protection of many agencies worldwide to create international policy. Some of the forerunners in the regulation heritage policy are organizations such as UNESCO, and ICOMOS. The resulting list of organizations may be lesser known to someone unfamiliar to the specifics of heritage tourism.

### *1. International Trade Center*

The international Trade Center was created to assist small businesses to become successful in exporting their goods. The ITC provides “sustainable and inclusive development solutions”<sup>15</sup> to businesses in developing and transitioning economies. This can be extremely useful to artisans and craftsmen in developing nations that want to further establish their businesses and begin exporting their products internationally as method to contribute to sustainability within their local communities.

### *2. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)*

The United Nations Conference on Free Trade commenced specifically to tackle the issues surrounding international trade with developing nations. UNCTAD performs as a “forum for intergovernmental deliberations” that is bolstered by dialogue between experts on “consensus building.”<sup>16</sup> To prepare for these dialogues the organization performs

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<sup>15</sup>International Trade Center “About ITC: Mission, Objectives.” Accessed January 2012. <http://www.intracen.org/about/mission-and-objectives/>

<sup>16</sup>United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. “About UNCTAD: Who We Are.” Last Modified 2011. Accessed January 2012. <http://www.unctad.org/en/Pages/AboutUs.aspx>

“research, policy analysis and data collection” and then uses it’s finding to present “technical assistance” to those developing nations.<sup>17</sup>

"Artisanal products are those produced by artisans, either completely by hand, or with the help of hand-tools or even mechanical means, as long as the direct manual contribution of the artisan remains the most substantial component of the finished product. These are produced without restriction in terms of quantity and using raw materials from sustainable resources. The special nature of artisanal products derives from their distinctive features, which can be utilitarian, aesthetic, artistic, creative, culturally attached, decorative, functional, traditional, religiously and socially symbolic and significant"<sup>18</sup>

This passage which UNCTAD adopted from UNESCO’s symposium on "Crafts and the International Market: Trade & Customs Codification" (Manila, 1997) directly identifies material culture created by craftsmen in developing nations. The definition of these products allows for further protection of artisans as trade grows as a result of increased tourism.

### *3. World Tourism Organization Network (UNWTO)*

The World Tourism Organization is the United Nation’s agency that endorses “responsible, sustainable and universally acceptable tourism.”<sup>19</sup> The organization

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Moreno, Yasmin. Santagata, Walter. Tabassum, Arif. Material Cultural Heritage, Cultural Diversity, and Sustainable Development. ACEI, 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Cultural Economics. March 06, 2004. Pp9.

<sup>19</sup> World Tourism Organization. “About UNWTO: Who We Are.” Accessed January 2012. <http://unwto.org/en/content/who-we-are-0>

explicitly promotes tourism as a contributor to “economic growth, inclusive development and environmental sustainability.”<sup>20</sup> It also offers

“leadership and support to the sector in advancing knowledge and tourism policies worldwide. [...]UNWTO generates market knowledge, promotes competitive and sustainable tourism policies and instruments, fosters tourism education and training, and works to make tourism an effective tool for development through technical assistance projects in over 100 countries around the world.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER TWO: THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST- NAVAJO WEAVING

### The Navajo People



Image 2. The Flag of the Navajo Nation. By Himasaram. 2011.<sup>22</sup>

The Navajo People are skilled artisans and are most known for their textile production of blankets and rugs, and earthenware. This chapter will focus on their textile production. The art of weaving textiles has always been a significant cultural practice to the Navajo people. The continued popularity of their textile products over the centuries is a result of the highly valued craftsmanship of the weavers and the symbolic importance that is imbued within the designs.

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<sup>22</sup> Himasaram. Flag of the Navajo Nation. Last Modified October 29, 2011. Last Accessed February 24, 2012. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Navajo\\_flag.svg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Navajo_flag.svg)

The Navajo People or Diné (the people) as they call themselves, are one of the largest Native American nations in North America with a population of 300,000 enrolled members as of 2011.<sup>23</sup> Originating from the Athabascan people of Northwest Canada, the Athabascans descended into the American Southwest circa 1400.<sup>24</sup> They migrated primarily through the Great Plains east of the Rocky Mountains and upon arrival in the Southwest were called the Apachu (the strangers or the enemies) by the Tewa and Zuñi; Pueblo tribes.<sup>25</sup> They quickly acclimated to the new region and coexisted with the Tewa and Zuñi; some of the Apachu choosing to adopt the agricultural lifestyle.<sup>26</sup> The Tewa began referring to the farming Apachu as the Apachu of the *navahu'u*: "farm fields in the valley."<sup>27</sup> When Spanish missionaries and settlers arrived to the southwest, they called the *navahu'u* the *Apaches de Nabajó*. *The name Navajo is an adaption of the Spanish Nabajó.*<sup>28</sup> *The Navajo are known for their adaptive qualities that ensured their survival.* In surviving Spanish occupation they learned much from the Spanish settlers, some of which is still evident in their material culture.

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<sup>23</sup> Navajo Times. "Census: Navajo Enrollment Tops 300,000." Last Modified July 25, 2011. Accessed February 24, 2012. <http://navajotimes.com/news/2011/0711/070711census.php>

<sup>24</sup> Pritzker, Barry M. *A Native American Encyclopedia: History, Culture, and Peoples*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp 52

<sup>25</sup> Watkins, Thayer. "Discovery of the Athabascan Origin of the Apache and Navajo Language" San Jose, *San Jose State University*. Accessed February 24, 2012. <http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/navajo.htm>

<sup>26</sup> Ibid

<sup>27</sup> Crow Canyon Archeological Center. "Peoples of the Mesa Verde Region: The Origin of the Name 'Navajo.'" Last Modified 2011. Accessed February 24, 2012. [http://www.crowcanyon.org/EducationProducts/peoples\\_mesa\\_verde/post\\_pueblo\\_navajo\\_name.asp](http://www.crowcanyon.org/EducationProducts/peoples_mesa_verde/post_pueblo_navajo_name.asp)

<sup>28</sup> Ibid



## Navajo Material Culture

### ***Cosmological Background: Navajo Creation Myth***

The skill of weaving is highly valued in the culture of the Navajo people, and appears in their cosmological narrative in association with the tale of the great Spider Woman deity. In the Navajo Creation Story: *Diné Bahané*, the great Spider Woman bestowed women of the Navajo with the gift of weaving. In one of the many accounts of the *Diné Bahané* the Spider Woman is introduced in the story as a young Navajo girl ventures off in search of something to eat. She has no living family and is unmarried despite her beauty. (Other accounts feature the character of the First Woman instead of a young girl.) She stumbles upon the Spider Woman who lives in the ground with her husband the Spider Man.<sup>29</sup>

The Spider Woman invited the young girl into her home, already aware of her loneliness and teaches her the ways of complex weaving. Using a “long stick with a hole in one end, [...] she passed the thread in and out of the loom making a blanket. She was making a design of everything in the sky. The Navaho were later told not to make use of this design in their blankets.”<sup>30</sup> The different references of the Spider Woman reveal an extremely powerful being with the power to raise and set the sun with a simple blow. She emphasized the importance of weaving and stressed the significance of women knowing the songs and prayers associated with weaving a particular design; to be able to weave a design excellently.

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<sup>29</sup> Fisher, Stanley A. *In The Beginning: A Navajo Creation Myth*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. University of Utah Anthropological Papers, no. 13. 1953. Pp104

<sup>30</sup> Ibid pp 104

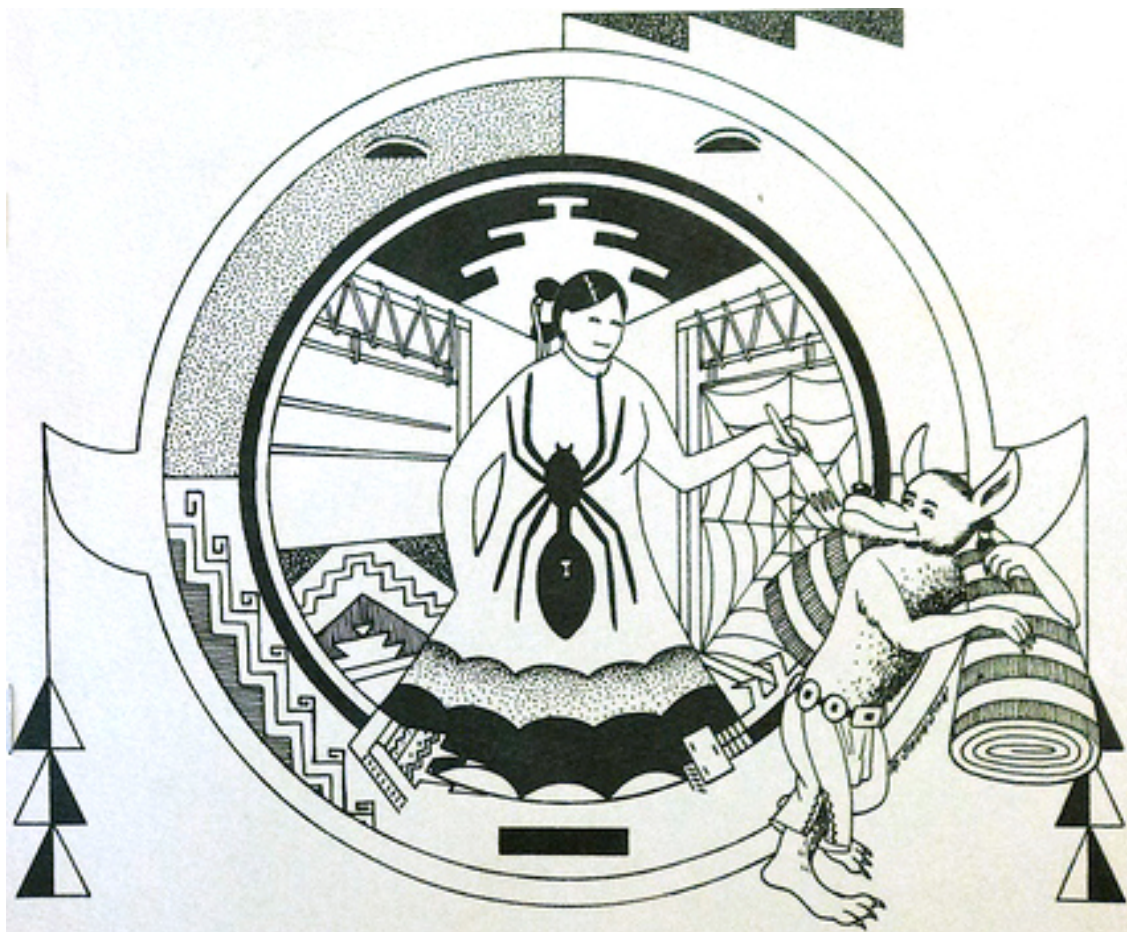


Image 3. Illustration of the Spider Woman from the Navajo's *Diné Bahané*. 1977.<sup>31</sup>

The Spider Woman, was told to have a created the first loom. It was said to have been made of" the sky and cords of the earth, and her weaving tools were sunlight, lightning, white shell and crystal."<sup>32</sup> After the young girl left the care of the Spider Woman, she returned to her home and began weaving with cotton died in the colors of yellow black and white. The colors were said to adhere to the fibers because the songs

<sup>31</sup> Illustrator Unknown. Navajo Weaving: From Spider Woman to Synthetic Rugs. Arizona Navajo Museum: 1977.

<sup>32</sup> Eighteenth Annual Collector's Guide.

and prayers that were chanted bound them together.<sup>33</sup> The young girl fashioned her own loom and began weaving like she was taught. She wove blankets so successfully that neighboring tribes learned the skill from her, and incorporated it into their own culture.<sup>34</sup>

In another robust dictated account of the creation myth by *Sandoval, Hastin Tlo'tsi hee* (Chief Old Man Buffalo Grass), the Spider Woman lives in the Third World with her husband the Spider Man.<sup>35</sup> In the *Diné Bahané*, the Navajo people endured a difficult journey climbing into the this world here on earth from subsequent worlds below. There are four worlds in the creation myth; the first and lowest is the Black World. The First Man and Woman of the Navajo people left the first world because there was too much conflict with the insect beings that resided there.<sup>36</sup> They journeyed higher up to the second world, known as The Blue World. In the Blue World the First Man and Woman encountered more insect beings in addition to animals they had never seen before.<sup>37</sup> There was a variety of different blue birds like blue jays, blue heron and the blue hawk. They were also introduced to other animals: mountain lions, foxes, wolves etc. However disputes between the insects and animals began and the people were forced to move on.<sup>38</sup>

They climbed into the Third World: the Yellow World, however they did not stay long. The Coyote, one of the many animals that traveled with them, caused the great

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<sup>33</sup> Fisher, Stanley A. In *The Beginning: A Navajo Creation Myth*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. University of Utah Anthropological Papers, no. 13. 1953. Pp 104

<sup>34</sup> Ibid

<sup>35</sup> O'Bryan, Aileen. *The Diné: Origin Myths of the Navajo Indians*. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 163. (1956) Accessed February 24, 2012. <http://www.sacred-texts.com/nam/nav/omni/index.htm>

<sup>36</sup> Iverson, Peter. *Diné: A History of the Navajos*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2011. Pp 8.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. pp8

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. pp8

flood that forced all the animals and the first Navajo to flee to the Fourth World.<sup>39</sup> The Fourth World is the Glittering (White) world. It is here in the Glittering world that the six sacred mountains to the *Diné* appear. Four of these mountains mark the boundaries of the *Diné Bikéyah*: the land of the Navajo people.<sup>40</sup> There is Blanca Peak to the east, Mount Taylor in the South, San Francisco Peaks in the west and Mount Hesperus in the north. Each of these mountains is associated with a season and a color, which is depicted in the Flag of the Navajo Nation in *image 2*. It is apparent that the number four is extremely important in Navajo culture: “there are four directions, four seasons, the first four clans and four colors that are associated with the four sacred mountains.”<sup>41</sup>

The four colors are also associated with the four times of day. Of the four mountains that are sacred to the *Diné Bikéyah*, Blanca Peak is depicted with the color white on the flag. Blanca Peak lies east and is associated with the White (Glittering) world.<sup>42</sup> The color white (or White Shell) represents the dawn, and the color of the sky as the sun rises.<sup>43</sup> (The glittering alludes to the affect of the sun’s rays appearing over the horizon.) It also represents the beginning of a new harvest in the spring season. The Blue world represented by Mount Taylor in the southern boundary is associated with the color of the midday sky.<sup>44</sup> In the *Diné Bahané* the color turquoise is used interchangeably with the color blue which also represents the summer season. The Yellow world relates

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid. pp8

<sup>40</sup> Diné Bikéyah. “Introduction.” Last Accessed February 25, 2012.  
<http://www.utahdinebikeyah.org/intro.html>

<sup>41</sup>. “Navajo Beliefs.” The Official Navajo Nation Visitors Guide. Window Rock; The Navajo Nation Tourism Department. 2008. Pp7.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. pp7.

<sup>43</sup> Navajo Indians. “Four.” Last modified 2008. Last Accessed February 25<sup>th</sup> 2012.  
<http://www.horsekeeping.com/jewelry/NavajoIndians.htm>

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

to the time of twilight.<sup>45</sup> It is characterized by the sun setting over the western boundary marked by the San Francisco Peaks, and also the summer season setting into autumn. Lastly, the Black world is connected with Mount Hesperus in the north.<sup>46</sup> The black embodies the darkness of the night and the season of winter when the world and the crops rest.

### *History of Material Culture Production*

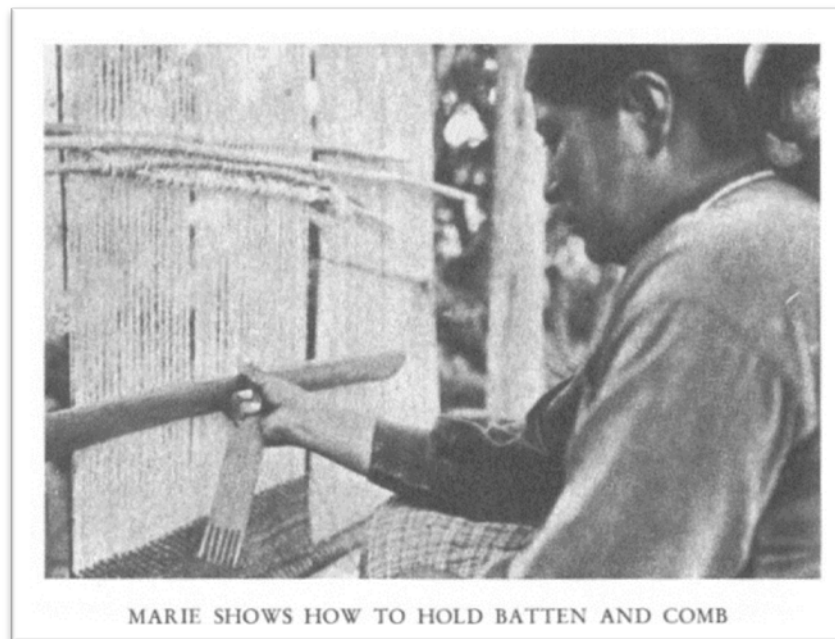


Image 4. “Marie Shows How to Hold a Batten and Comb.” Illustrating how to hold a batten and comb while working on a vertical loom. 1934.<sup>47</sup>

The Navajo people acquired the skill of weaving from local Pueblo tribes when they settled in the Southwest after 1400 A.D. The Pueblo Native Americans had been weaving with Mexican cotton for six centuries prior to the arrival of the Navajo. Shortly after the Southwest was occupied by Spanish settlers and missionaries in the mid 1500s

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Reichard, Gladys A. “Marie Shows How to Hold a Batten and Comb” Spider Woman. New York: Macmillan, 1934.

A.D.<sup>48</sup> The arrival of the Spanish led to great exchange between Pueblo Indians and Spanish weavers. Prior to their arrival, the Pueblo and Navajo communities traded goods between each other. The Navajo began to slowly acquire knowledge of Pueblo weaving due to their raids on neighboring Pueblo villages which included their taking of slaves. However the Pueblo influence became more pronounced after the Spanish occupation of Pueblo lands.

Spanish settlers had many lasting impacts on the production of material culture; the most influential being the introduction of indigo dye and the Churro (originally called the Churra) sheep which is not indigenous to North America. The breed originates from the Iberian Peninsula in northern Spain. Churro fibers are characteristically long and coarse, making it easy to spin into yarn and extremely resilient.<sup>49</sup> The Pueblos began herding Churro sheep and from this they began weaving with wool in conjunction with the Mexican cotton they had used for centuries. The Navajo adopted the new Pueblo practice of using Churro wool and exercised it to a new extreme. They began herding Churro sheep and eventually began using the wool for their textiles almost extensively.

The Pueblo and Spanish influence on Navajo weaving further developed when many Pueblos began taking refuge in Navajo villages to escape the oppression of the Spanish settlers. The Spanish Missionaries' sole purpose was to convert the Natives to Catholicism. Their counterparts the Conquistadors felt it was their right to enslave the Native Americans and force them into labor to establish their wealth and status in the New World. The Pueblos who had already shared their vertical loom with the Navajos

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<sup>48</sup> Iverson, Peter. Dine a History of the Navajos. Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press, 2011.

<sup>49</sup> Descendants of the Iberian Churra. "Origin." Navajo Churro Sheep Organization. Last Accessed February 25<sup>th</sup> 2012. <http://www.navajo-churrosheep.com/sheep-origin.html>



began to instruct them in depth on their weaving.<sup>50</sup> By the 1700s, the Navajos became more adventurous with their weaving designs and use of color which is likely due to their success as traders.<sup>51</sup> They traded their popular textiles with neighboring villages and tribes as far into Mexico to sustain themselves in addition to herding the Churro.

Their textile items provided functionality with appealing designs that weren't limited to just horizontal bands. Their popular items of trade included clothing and the Navajo Serape. The Serape a blanket woven of Churro wool that was woven so densely that it held water successfully which was very valuable for those living in the region.<sup>52</sup> It was also extremely valuable in protecting someone from the rain. The trading of these blankets and rugs continued as their popularity increased beyond the Southwest.



Image 5. Navajo Serape: Late Classical Period. 1865-70<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> "Three Southwest Weaving Cultures" University of Colorado Museum of Natural History.

<sup>51</sup> Bernstein, Bruce. "A Brief Social History of Navajo Weaving." *The Eighteenth Annual Collectors Guide: Your Window into the World of Art Culture and History in Santa Fe, Taos, Albuquerque and New Mexico USA*. New Mexico: Wings Spread Guides, 2004. Pp 205.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 205.

<sup>53</sup> Cowans Auction. "Early Late Classic Navajo Serape" Modified 2012. Last Accessed April 2012. <  
<http://www.cowanauctions.com/auctions/item.aspx?ItemId=58047>>

## The Affect of Heritage Tourism on Production

### ***Reshaped by the Railroad***

In 1863-63 Kit Carson – an American frontiersman and fighter of Native Americans – led the “Scorched Earth” campaign against Native Americans in the Southwest. (Scorched Earth is a strategic method that incinerates the food supply and amenities of local civilians as a method to force starvation and in effect relocation.)<sup>54</sup> Carson approved the destruction of herds of Churro sheep, the burning of orchards and local food supplies. The 8000 Navajos who surrendered were marched hundreds of miles to the Bosque Redondo Reservation at Fort Sumner in eastern New, Mexico. Forced into a new life of dependency, the Navajo were given commercial yarns and dyes which had a significant effect on their weaving. Despite being allowed to return to their original homes, the Navajo weavers continued utilizing commercial supplies to create their textiles.<sup>55</sup> Many of their textiles were now being produced for commercial use for traders instead of personal use. The growth of trading led to traders having an ever growing impact on the design of these textiles, their materials and which ones became popular. For example Navajo rugs became increasingly more popular than serapes and clothing.<sup>56</sup>

Life after incarceration at the Bosque Redondo Reservation was not always smooth sailing for the Navajo. The Southwest was steadily changing due to the expansion of the railways into the Southwest. In particular the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad (originally titled the Arizona and Southeastern Railroad) was created to service the

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<sup>54</sup> Bernstein, Bruce. “A Brief Social History of Navajo Weaving.” The Eighteenth Annual Collectors Guide: Your Window into the World of Art Culture and History in Santa Fe, Taos, Albuquerque and New Mexico USA. New Mexico: Wings Spread Guides, 2004 pp 205.

<sup>55</sup> M'Closkey, Kathy. “Towards an Understanding of Navajo Aesthetics.” SEED (Semiotics, Evolution, Energy and Development) Volume 4.1. Last Accessed February 26<sup>th</sup>. <http://www.library.utoronto.ca/see/SEED/Vol4-1/M%27Closkey.htm>

<sup>56</sup> Weaving Background Information. “Three Southwest Weaving Cultures”.



Southwestern mining industry exclusively.<sup>57</sup> As a mode of transportation it brought about an influx of new American tourists from the East coast and the Midwest. Most were excited to experience the Southwest and to establish a new life for themselves. The El Paso and Southwestern Railroad was founded by the owners of the Phelps, Dodge Corporation opted to invest in mining in the copper mining industry in the Southwest. The owners purchased the Detroit Cooper Mining Company of Arizona in 1881, and eventually established the Arizona and Southeastern Railroad as a method to transport their copper between different mines and smelting locations.<sup>58</sup>



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<sup>57</sup> Beach and Rines, The Americana: A Universal Reference Library, 1911. Pp 150

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

Image 6. The El Paso and Southwestern Passenger Depot. Tucson, Arizona. 1908<sup>59</sup>

As the railways grew so did the number of starter towns that appeared along rail routes. They began to slowly encroach upon Native territories, and more Anglo-American's descended into Native American settlements. The Navajo had begun to slowly reestablish themselves and continued to trade successfully: traders purchased roughly over a million pounds of Churro wool in addition to pelts and goat hides. The growing tourism of the Southeast led to Anglo-American's expressing a growing interest in Navajo material culture. Their woven baskets, serape blankets, and earthenware were becoming valuable commodities for the tourists.<sup>60</sup>

However despite their growing economy, the Navajo was wielded a terrible blow by the United States government that decimated their livestock population. Navajo lands were found to be rich with minerals and oil that the United States government wanted to harvest. In order to do so they urged the creation of the Government of the Navajo Nation in 1923 to begin leasing the land. The land was utilized by the Navajo's livestock to graze and the US government felt that the livestock became a liability due to overgrazing. This great slaughter led to the collapse of the Navajo economy. The Navajo were stripped of their most valuable resource: the sheep were used for food, for their wool and also were sold as livestock to other communities.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Tom Marshall's Tucson." The El Paso and Southwestern Passenger Depot" Last Accessed February 27, 2012. <<http://parentseyes.arizona.edu/tommarshallstucson/chapter3-3.htm>>

<sup>60</sup> Discover Navajo. "The History of Cowboys and Indians." Last Modified 2008. Last Accessed February 25<sup>th</sup>, 2012. <http://discovernavajo.com/Cowboys%20&%20Indians-1.pdf>

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

### *Affects on production and regulations*

Currently there are more than 25,000 weavers in the Navajo Nation. Most weavers encounter difficulty in finding consumers to purchase their rugs because of the popularity and bolstered value of limited historic material culture from early Navajo periods. Specifically there is a demand for textiles that were created before 1950. The skilled Navajo weavers also have to compete with many online vendors that sell pre 1950 imitation textiles. This has been such a degrading problem since the United States Government does not recognize communal property rights. The lack of recognition allows for the Navajo designs to be relegated as public domain. This gap in policy has led to imitations being sold through e-commerce from fifteen different countries around the world.<sup>62</sup>

The mass misappropriation and misinformation regarding Navajo material culture has led to the creation of the Indian Arts & Crafts Association. The Indian Arts & Crafts Association was established in 1974 to address the increasing falsification of American Indian Arts and Crafts in the Art and Antiquity market. Originally founded by American Indian artists from the Southwest, the organization is now an international force that works to represent Native American Artists from North America and connect them “with consumers, retailers, wholesalers, museums, government agencies, suppliers and supporting members” from around the world.<sup>63</sup> As a result of the resurgence of interest in Native American material culture that occurred in the 1970s, the organization formed

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<sup>62</sup> M'Closkey, Kathy. 2004. “Towards an understanding of Navajo aesthetics” in *SEED (Semiotics, Evolution, Energy and Development)* Volume 4.1 (Special Issue Celebrating Gregory Bateson's Centennial) Online: [www.library.utoronto.ca/see](http://www.library.utoronto.ca/see). Pp 92.

<sup>63</sup> The Indian Arts and Crafts Association. “About the IACA.” Last Modified 2012. Last Accessed February 26, 2012. <http://www.iaca.com/About%20IACA.htm>

as a way to supplement the lack of legislation that regulated the market. It worked to create specifications that products needed to meet to be deemed authentic and or historic. The IACA also labored to increase visibility to discourage the production and sale of imitation material culture.<sup>64</sup>

According to Kathy Closely, the art and antiquity market, and American public in general view the Navajo textiles as solely commodities and that in itself is problematic. She explains how the demand for these products and the American concept of how they function has caused the misinformation surrounding the meaning of each piece be it a serape blanket or a rug.<sup>65</sup> Navajo material culture has historically functioned in everyday life however its reputation as collectables by Americans has diminished the value of their functionality and the act of the importance of the weaving process itself. The value of Native American heritage is placed on the artifact and not the living expression of the weaving process. This practice devalues the Navajos as a living breathing nation of people that are continually producing relevant material culture.

To combat this devaluation and to protect the integrity of works by American Indian artists, the founders of the IACA founded the incorporated organization in New Mexico. The IACA's declared their original mission as to "enhance and maintain the image of marketing of handmade American Indian arts and crafts."<sup>66</sup> However the mission was revised and updated to "promote, preserve and protect authentic American

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> M'Closkey, Kathy. 2004. "Towards an understanding of Navajo aesthetics" in *SEED (Semiotics, Evolution, Energy and Development)* Volume 4.1 (Special Issue Celebrating Gregory Bateson's Centennial) Online: [www.library.utoronto.ca/see](http://www.library.utoronto.ca/see). Pp 92

<sup>66</sup> The Indian Arts and Crafts Association. "Mission." Last Modified 2012. Last Accessed February 26, 2012. <http://www.iaca.com/About%20IACA.htm>

Indian arts and crafts.”<sup>67</sup> Their successful work as established the organization as an esteemed international trade association as it hosts the largest trade show of authentic handmade American Indian art by Natives from North America. Most importantly the organization has created a Code of Ethics and a set of By Laws to protect the artists and enforce honest business practices by all purchasing parties.<sup>68</sup>



Image 7. Navajo Chief Style Blanket. 1870-80. The Textile Museum 1976.30.4 -- Gift of Col. F. M. Johnson, Jr.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Image by Tillman. Navajo Chief Style Blanket. 1870-80. The Textile Museum 1976. Modified December 2008. Last Accessed March 2012.

## CHAPTER THREE: WESTERN EUROPE –THE LACE OF BRUGES

### Lace Production as Material Culture

#### *A Brief History of Lace Making*

Lace is defined as the ornamented open work of threads that have been “looped, plaited or twisted together in one of three ways.” It can be created with a needle, a bobbin or by machine. The needle is used to create Needle Point Lace. The use of a bobbin creates Bobbin Lace (also known as Pillow lace because the hands of the worker are supported by a pillow). Lastly machine made lace imitates the designs of handmade needle point and bobbin lace patterns.<sup>70</sup> The origins of the skill of making lace predate Antiquity. Despite the lack of surviving examples due to the fragility of lace, there are mentions of lace and its needlework companion embroidery in Ancient Greece. The skill was so prized that it was even assigned to the Goddess Minerva – the Goddess of Wisdom. There is even evidence that purports that the Ancient Egyptians acquired the skill from Israelites. Other appearances vary in location from Scandinavia to the Middle East.<sup>71</sup>

Often with examples of surviving lace, the designs vary from the most elaborate or follow the historic lozenge pattern. The lozenge pattern is one of the oldest existing patterns of lace design, and considered universal due to its appearance in varying locations around the world.<sup>72</sup> However it was through Arab innovation that lace design surpassed its simpler origins. The modern terminology that we have stems from the exchange of cultures that occurred through Arab commerce with Italy. The Italian words

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<sup>70</sup> Jackson, Emily Nevil. *A History of Handmade Lace*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp3.

<sup>71</sup> Palliser, Bury. *A History of Lace*. London: Sampson, Low, Son and Marston, 1869. Pp2-3.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. pp 5.

for embroidery and lace are adaption of Arabic words respectively. The Italian word for embroidery is *ricamo*, which is an adaption of the old Arabic word for embroidery: *rabuuu*. There is also the Italian word *trine*, for lace that is an adaption of the Arabic term *targe*.<sup>73</sup>

The creation of lace became so popular that everyday items such as tunics and socks were adorned with it. However the popularity of the lace making was relegated to limited craftsmen and women in the domestic private sphere due to Sumptuary Laws that limited the development of the Lace industry. The sumptuary laws of Medieval Europe were instated in every lace making kingdom. They limited the consumptions of luxurious garments to curb the large amounts of spending that result in the growing demand for garments adorned with lace. In France, Charles the Great instated the first Sumptuary Laws in the year 608 A.D.<sup>74</sup> He created the law to limit the amount of expensive cloth that was utilized to create the period clothing. This was to be an example in simplicity for his subjects in hopes that they would abandon excessive luxury items. The laws dampened the development of the lace industry around Europe, only few artisans were need to produce the fine needlework by the few who were allowed the luxury if at all depending on the ruler and kingdom. However the age of fine lace making is said to have died with the late Queen Marie Antoinette. The Queen adopted the style of simplicity: the lack of adornment and modest designs.<sup>75</sup>

Costume lace which is referred to in the Modern sense was first started in the sixteenth century. Costume lace was first woven in Florence during the Renaissance,

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid. pp 5.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. pp 8.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. pp 11.

although it should be noted that Italians were making lace before the fifteenth century.<sup>76</sup>

Many different lace making countries claim to be the originators of costume lace: the most prominent being Flanders France and Spain.<sup>77</sup> The purpose of this chapter will focus on the lace making history of Flanders – specifically the area known as Bruges, and its contribution to the lace making industry. It will also explore how heritage tourism has renewed the interest in lace making.

### ***Bruges: The Venice of the North***

The city of Bruges is the capital of the West Flanders province of the Flemish (northwestern) region of Belgium. First constructed as a Roman Fort like many other historic European cities, the Roman army originally used the location to police the region for coastal pirates. The area was later conquered by the Franks, a Germanic tribe, in the fourth century. However it resumed being a trading community and Bruges finally became a self governing canal based city early in the twelfth century.<sup>78</sup> It was so successful that it became the most important trade post in Northwestern Europe. Despite the relative success, Bruges had its struggles with wealth disparities between merchant class and the tradesmen. The city was also plagued with epidemics and many revolts by the tradesmen. This all came to a head and led to the merger between the providences of both Flanders and Burgundy in the fourteenth century.<sup>79</sup>

The merger proved to be successful and brought forth an age of prosperity in Bruges. The court of the Burgundian ruling family equipped the city with more financing

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid. pp 13.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. pp 14.

<sup>78</sup> Brugge: World Heritage City. "A Brief Historical Background." Modified 2012. Last Accessed March 4, 2012. <http://www.brugge.be/internet/en/index.htm>

<sup>79</sup> Ibid



and opportunities for trade. The city became a destination for early tourists that had heard stories of how luxurious it had become with plenty of amenities for leisure. The population had grown to about 40-45,000 people, with successful merchants from all over Europe. Most importantly, in connection with lace production, the city developed a large industry of Flemish cloth makers and crafting trades.<sup>80</sup>

### *Popularity of Lace from Flanders*

The Flanders province where Bruges is located is famed for its production of Flemish bobbin costume lace. It is this same lace production that save Flanders from complete economic devastation during its period of religious persecution; that caused many of its craftsmen to flee the city. A significant percentage of the craftsmen were lace manufacturers that dispersed all over Northern Europe. This flight is what led to Northern Europe learning the skill of Flemish bobbin lace making.<sup>81</sup> Just south of Bruges in Brussels, the lace craftsmen produced what was considered the most beautiful lace creations. Many of the surviving artifacts reveal that lace adornments were created and sent as gifts from noblemen to local institutions (usually churches) in the province.<sup>82</sup>

It became common place for lace to be made in convents all over the continent. The convents produced lace items varying from darned netting, and knotted and plaited lace specifically to adorn the church and for ritual rites. Smaller lace manufacturing operations evolved into a fully fledged industry due to compounded demand from the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century.<sup>83</sup> Flemish bobbin lace became increasingly popular in the industry because of how easy it was to make in comparison to its pleasing

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Jackson, Emily Nevil. A History of Handmade Lace. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp 18.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. pp 18.

<sup>83</sup> Jackson, Emily Nevil. A History of Handmade Lace. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp 20.

design. The characteristic use of the pillow in creating bobbin lace provided much relief to the lace makers while knotting the threads or performing *macramé*: the plaiting of loose threads. Eventually Flemish lace designs were soon being seen beyond the church and in the courts of royalty all over Europe.<sup>84</sup>



Image 8. Bobbin Made Brussels Lace. 26 inches wide. Cambrai, France. 1695.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Jackson, Emily Nevil. A History of Handmade Lace. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp 26.

<sup>85</sup> Jackson, Emily Nevil. A History of Handmade Lace. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp 30.

## Affects of Heritage Tourism

### *Affects on Lace Production*

The Industrial Revolution dealt a significant blow to handmade lace production in Bruges. Machinery was designed to create the same product in a smaller amount of time, with exact precision. By the early nineteenth century lace production was devastated because the ornamental fabric was no longer fashionable on garments for both men and women. However by 1840, the fabric became extremely popular again, particularly with women's wear. The insurgence of interest came from the elite of the European fashion industry, which resulted in a boost of lace manufacturing.<sup>86</sup> The lace that was being manufactured was a poor shadow of its former glory in terms of design and material quality. By 1920 lace fabric ceased to have a prominent presence within the fashion industry and was seemingly relegated to intimate wear/apparel. However the production of handmade lace persisted in very small isolated quantities in Bruges. The remnants of the lace industry in the city were revived solely by Heritage Tourism.<sup>87</sup>

Handmade bobbin lace survived as artistic expression passed on through families. The advent of significant Heritage Tourism has invigorated lace production and preserved the small industry in Bruges. However the influx of tourism brought many vendors who sell lace products that imitate the handmade artistry of local craftsmanship. Many vendors by their handmade imitations wholesale from China, Taiwan, and South East Asia.<sup>88</sup> Despite this deception, local artisans are dedicated to preserving the cultural

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<sup>86</sup> Turner, Christopher. Landmark Visitors Guide Bruges: Belgium. Hunter Publishing, 2003. Pp 31.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

heritage of lace making in Bruges through education and awareness through cultural centers that offer educational courses on lace production.

### ***Production as Material Culture***

The first lace making school in Bruges was founded in the early eighteenth century by three nuns from the city of Antwerp. Lace manufacturing became a method to earn a meager living for many poor women that lived in Bruges. However lace making was a thankless profession. Despite any apparent superior skill, the women were paid low incomes. The profession itself was a detriment to their health; many women worked excessive hours to the consequence of damaged eyesight. Some of the older women eventually became blind because of the strain on their eyes.<sup>89</sup>

Today, tourists who would like to purchase authentic Flemish lace, or experience the process can visit the Bruges Lace Center. The center is an active learning facility that offers classes by local teachers on how to create Flemish lace. With a staff of fifteen instructors the center has the ability to create a flexible and wide array of classes that vary by level and style.<sup>90</sup> Lace makers are expanding beyond the traditional lace patterns and becoming more adventurous. Creating larger and more intricate lace designs and making these products available for sale. These instructors are keeping the heritage of lace making alive. They've inherited the classic designs and are improving upon them to make them relevant to contemporary society. They've taken the legacy of Bruges manufacturing history and made it applicable by creating products that are either functional (garments) or decorative.

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<sup>89</sup> Turner, Christopher. Landmark Visitors Guide Bruges: Belgium. Hunter Publishing, 2003. Pp 31.

<sup>90</sup> Kantcentrum. "Welcome to Kantcentrum." Modified 2012. Last Accessed March 4, 2012.  
<<http://www.kantcentrum.eu/en/>>



Image 9. The Making of Bobbin Lace at the Bruce Lace Center. <sup>91</sup>

### ***Tourism Regulation***

The historic city center of Bruges is one of UNESCO's World Heritage Sites. It was nominated and deigned a heritage site because of its distinctive historic architecture which has remained largely intact. Like most heritage sites in Europe, the title comes with and influx of tourism that has an effect on the local business and the preservation of cultural heritage and in effect material culture. Most of the vendors within the city center that sell lace products for purchase are offering merchandise that is not locally made.<sup>92</sup> There seems to be a lack of immediate local regulations from the city that police what

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<sup>91</sup> Bruges Lace Center. "The Making of Bobbin Lace" Modified 2012. Accessed April 2012. <http://www.kantcentrum.eu/en/about/>

<sup>92</sup> Dunford, Martin. The Rough Guide to Belgium and Luxembourg. : Penguin, 2011. Pp 169.

lace products can be designated authentic. However tourists have amassed lists on different tourists sites such as Trip Advisor on which vendors provide locally crafted lace for those interested in something authentically Flemish.

The lack of local policy is reinforced by the city's tourism policy. The policy in short is "supply or product oriented. This conforms to the present trend. The formulated suggestions, both on the supply and on the demand side, can be new levers for the coming decade and be instruments to harvest the benefits of "Bruges Cultural capital of Europe."<sup>93</sup> This explanation perfectly reflects the apparent attitude surrounding the sale of lace products. The city promotes that demand for such products be met at all costs. This system works as a double edge sword; it places local craftsmen at a disadvantage because they may not be reaping the income that their famed artistry draws to the city. However other vendors are benefitting, the money they make will undoubtedly contribute to the purchasing of more foreign made products that will be sold under the guise of locally made. Either way, the city benefits economically and this mode of operation does not seem likely to change in the near future.

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<sup>93</sup> The Fourth Summit. "Tourism Policy in Bruges." Modified 2002. Accessed March 2012. <  
<http://www.sommets-tourisme.org/e/sommetsG/quatrieme-sommet/actes/vanhove/vanhove.html>>

## CHAPTER FOUR: EASTERN EUROPE – TURKISH EMBROIDERY

### Embroidery as Material Culture

#### *History of Turkish Embroidery*

Turkish Embroidery has gained notoriety as some of the most beautiful embroidery from around the world. The skill of embroidery has become a significant staple in Turkish culture. Beautiful examples of Turkish embroidery were on display of the garments of Turkish courtiers, and with the finest examples being applied to palace furniture. Fine examples of embroidery weren't limited to those living a life at court. All echelons of Turkish society produced and enjoyed embroidery.<sup>94</sup> The art form was used as a method to enhance one's own living environment. Turkey's earliest surviving examples of embroidery date from the sixteenth century. There is also documentation that record master embroidery artists: the *Cemaat-i Zerduzan* employed by the Ottoman court with salaried contracts. The *Cemaat-i Zerduzan* were famed for embroidering exclusively with gold thread for court assignments. They were also famed for producing projects with gold yarn embroidered on materials that aren't traditionally associated with embroidery.<sup>95</sup>

The art of embroidering with colored silk was also extremely popular: it was the most prevalent type of embroidery performed in the region in every rank of Turkish society. The colored silk was died varying colors and typically applied to cotton or linen

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<sup>94</sup> Turkish Cultural Foundation. "Turkish Embroidery." Modified 2011. Last Accessed March 2012. <<http://www.turkishculture.org/fabrics-and-patterns/embroidery/turkish-embroidery-598.htm>>

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.





Image 10. Turkish Wedding Dress 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life. "Turkish Wedding Dress 19<sup>th</sup> century" Modified 2010. Last Accessed March 2012. <http://www.magnes.org/turkish-wedding-dress-19th-cent>



fabric and the designs were often highlighted with the occasional gold thread.<sup>97</sup> Embroiderers displayed their artistic creativity by crafting vast designs on fabric with this embroidery style. A particularly expensive and revered technique of this style is the *kum ignesi*. The *kum ignesi* is a type of darning stitch where the embroidery thread follows the direction of the warp and weft of the fabric creating a woven appearance that is visible on both sides of the fabric.<sup>98</sup>

The typical Turkish design aesthetic featured floral motif that is Turkish in origin. It was usually executed with characteristic bold colors accentuated with muted tones. The floral designs usually included depictions of tulips, carnations, roses and hyacinths. Designs for the palace were usually drafted by the *nakkas*: the court designers. The *nakkas* expressed a Chinese design influence which was a result of trade. They usually included elements usually seen in Chinese design like cloud bands, tiger stripes etc.<sup>99</sup> During the seventeenth century, the popularity of pomegranate and grapevine leaves was incorporated into traditional floral motifs. These design motifs were usually arranged in the “classical court style, enclosed within an ogival medallion.”

The end of the seventeenth century also saw the rise in influence from European art on the embroidery design of the Ottoman court. The influence brought about a preference for the depiction of smaller bouquets either arranged in a random or ordered design. The new florals found their way into women’s wear. The popularity of three dimensional still life paintings of fruits were realized in Turkish embroidery as well. Artists utilized

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid

<sup>98</sup> Ibid

<sup>99</sup> Naik, Shailaja., Wilson, Jacques A. Surface Designing of Textile Fabrics. New Age International Pvt Ltd Publishers, 2006. Pp 5.

different tones of embroidery thread to create the effect. The creations of the Turkish embroiders were so impressive that European travelers who had visited Turkey during the early eighteenth century spoke highly of the craftsmanship.<sup>100</sup>

In the nineteenth century, Western aesthetics continued to influence Turkish embroidery design and eventually led to the era called Turkish Rococo. Turkish Rococo was characterized by the familiar floral motif. However it differed in that it featured “garlands of flowers, jasemine, violets, roses, large acanthus leaves, and vibrant bouquets springing from baskets and vases.”<sup>101</sup> This new variation in style complimented the existing classical themes and was typically displayed on cloths in dining rooms, bedrooms and rugs. The evolution of design styles in Turkey are different in that it is continuous. There is a continuity as designs grow and contribute to one another. One entire style is never fully rejected for the new but the new fashionable design is the result of careful curating.

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<sup>100</sup> Turkish Cultural Foundation. “Turkish Embroidery.” Modified 2011. Last Accessed March 2012. <<http://www.turkishculture.org/fabrics-and-patterns/embroidery/turkish-embroidery-598.htm>>

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

## The Affect of Heritage Tourism

### *The Popularity of Turkish Embroidery*

Heritage tourism in Turkey has continued to expand and brought with it a continued interest in Turkish embroidery that seemingly never died. However, unlike other case studies, the survival of Turkish embroidery was never in jeopardy and did not need the investment of tourist dollars to keep the industry afloat. Turkey's continued investment in its Textile industry and its subset the Home Textile industry has supplied its domestic and international demand for embroidered products. Importantly, the demand of home textiles has steadily increased. The industry exported 57 percent of its production, illustrating its high potential for significant success in the export market.<sup>102</sup> The textile industry has already garnered a reputation for having a wide array of products available in superior quality. The industry has an export value worth 810 million dollars. The value amount accounts for 3 percent of all of Turkey's exports, which has bolstered the domestic economy in Turkey.<sup>103</sup>

As the home textile industry strives to develop into one of the leading industries in home textile production, it continues to progress by continually creating a variety of products including embroidered textiles. The industry has also acquired "the latest technology with a high production capacity and a highly skilled labor pool."<sup>104</sup> The industry appears to be primed for success because it was able to reduce production cost well below the world average in addition to increasing the quality of its production

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<sup>102</sup> Online Group. "Home Textile Industry in Turkey." Last Accessed March 2012.  
<<http://www.turkeyhometextile.com/hometextileinturkey.htm>>

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid

output. As it stands, Turkey is one of the top three suppliers of embroidery in Europe and they market their products as specifically Turkish which attracts consumers who are familiar with the superior quality.<sup>105</sup> The industry has developed a competitive edge in their production of embroidery and jacquard textiles.

To secure a more cemented place in the home textile international sector, Turkey has started to increase its share in the main markets, especially in Europe. This has opened doors for the industry as well-known world suppliers have been willingly collaborating with manufacturers in joint production in the industry. Currently, Turkey has its eye on the international textile market. The European countries happen to be the most important markets for Turkey's home textile exports, followed by exports in the market.<sup>106</sup>

### ***Changes in Embroidery Production***

The city of Istanbul has a long history of being a commercial center for the commerce of embroidery. Historic accounts from local sources and visitors illustrate in great detail the quality of embroidery that was produced in the city in the late nineteenth century specifically for commerce.<sup>107</sup> There were many enterprises in the city that employed large amounts of locals (both men and women) to meet the demand for embroidered products. In particular, the Sadulla Robert-Levy company reported employed as many as six hundred workers at one given time to satisfy this demand.<sup>108</sup> Undoubtedly, hiring locals had a positive immediate impact on the local economy. In the

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Turkish Cultural Foundation. "Turkish Embroidery." Modified 2011. Last Accessed March 2012. <<http://www.turkishculture.org/fabrics-and-patterns/embroidery/turkish-embroidery-598.htm>>

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

latter part of the nineteenth century a Teacher's Training School for Girls in Istanbul was founded. This direct move of placing embroidery making the curriculum of local schools ensures that it wouldn't become a dying art. Similar schools were established in other cities around the country.<sup>109</sup> The act of preserving cultural heritage through a learning institution has been extremely successful in maintaining the living expression of Turkish heritage. It places equal value on the final product and the creation process that supports artistic creativity of each embroiderer.

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

## CONCLUSION

Researching this thesis project has fully emphasized the importance of how material culture is protected when it intersects with the complexities of Heritage Tourism. The analysis of the protection of material culture from three different societies has illuminated that successful protection of material culture should begin before any development that accommodates the growth of Heritage Tourism. If the heritage tourism industry has already influenced an area, then local legislation should work with artisans and craftsmen to ensure that their products receive prime visibility to promote the material culture of the area. This is especially important if the artisans are the ones that maintain the local heritage.

The case study of Navajo weaving illustrates that the region is still severely lacking in proper legislation that protects the rights of Navajo artists and craftsmen. The very few existing laws are not stringent enough to appoint authority to the Navajos and other Native American's the right to proclaim what they consider to be historic and how their material culture is handled in the larger scope of Heritage Tourism. The lack of regulation limits how historic material culture is handled and sold in the art and antiquities market. Frankly, Native American's deserve the right to determine their cultural impact in the marketplace. Heritage tourism can be used to reassert this right.

There already exists organization such as NAGPRA the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act which works to return Native American Artifacts that have been wrongfully removed from their original settings. This can and has been used to restore historic pieces to the proper Tribes; specifically in any instance where textiles

and other cultural products were forcefully taken. This may seem small, since most textiles were traded, however it would allow for transparency on the sale and purchasing of Native American products. Native Americans should continue to work with more regional business alliances and districts to introduce more Native American artists to a wider audience. Most artists don't have access to multiple markets to showcase their works and increase their presence in the marketplace.<sup>110</sup>

The case study on the lace industry in Bruges demonstrates the clear divide that significant heritage tourism has created. Most of the authentic lace production has been relegated to few artisans in the city, where as tourism has led to the market being dominated by imported imitations being falsely sold as locally made. The city of Bruges' tourism policy does little to regulate this in the interest of local artisans. Its premise is to simply satisfy all tourist demands. This is not sustainable to the preservation of the material culture heritage. While vendors who sell counterfeit items benefit from tourist dollars they do little to add to the preservation of the city's heritage. However the preservation of the cultural heritage is occurring with artisans and craftsmen who are passionate about Bruges' history as a significant player in the history of lace industry.

They've been working to preserve the city's heritage by maintain and expanding newer organizations that provide information about Bruges' lace history, providing intensive classes for those interesting in learning the trade, and offering artisans and craftsmen an honest platform where they can continue to introduce their work and make it more visible in Bruges' tourist market place. The city of Bruges' should work with the

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<sup>110</sup> The Arts Business Institute. "IACA: Promoting and Protecting Authentic Native American Art." Modified December 21, 2011. Last Accessed April 2012. < <http://www.artsbusinessinstitute.org/blog/iaca-promoting-and-protecting-authentic-native-american-art/>>

local lace heritage organizations to promote them on the city's official website. Vendors who work with local artisans and craftsmen because they're committed to selling locally made lace should be promoted along with the city's many museums and cultural landmarks. At the very least, these vendors should create an umbrella organization where they can pool their resources to advertise their products or to network to increase their visibility within the tourism industry in the city. The city's status as a heritage site focuses specifically on its large stock of surviving Medieval architecture. However its lace production history has persisted for as long as its architecture and that should be valued as equally as its tangible heritage.

In the examination of Turkish embroidery, it was revealed that the preservation of cultural heritage has persisted much longer and more successfully than the two previous case studies. The reason for this is because the art form of embroidery is an important staple in Turkish culture. The preservation of the artistry has created a state where growing Heritage Tourism doesn't have some of its usual negative impacts on material culture that it would elsewhere. The embroidery and textile industry in Turkey has fortified an extremely successful sector that prides itself on its superior quality. This reputation of creating excellent products is distinctly tied to a Turkish Identity. The growth of heritage tourism in the country has not decimated the creation of embroidery. The textile industry that provides embroidery employs local citizens and the success of the industry keeps embroidery schools intact. The best option would be to continue employing local citizens for embroidery production which will continue to encourage the education within local curriculums.



These suggestions are preliminary actions that can be implemented immediately, to preserve the material culture within these different societies. The heritage tourism industry will continue to grow and it needs to be regulated strictly to ensure that local communities that produce material culture benefit from the promotion of their heritage. Their needs should be privileged over that of tourists, to guarantee that the tourism industry doesn't contribute to destruction of the cultural heritage traditions that produce material culture from crafting and textile communities.

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